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ABSTRACT

From a psychological perspective, this paper explores the effects of staff reduction, resulting from declining enrollment, on elementary and secondary teachers in Ontario. The authors state that fear of future unemployment has contributed to the stressful nature of teaching and is likely to retard the efficiency of even those teachers who retain their jobs. When the lottery method is employed to determine who will be fired, teachers lose confidence in their ability to control their own lives whether they "win" or not. The paper reviews past attempts to ease professional unemployment, drawing from the experience of the depression and more recent history. Some partial solutions include job sharing, shortened work weeks, and part-time work. The authors conclude that schools and teachers must be responsive to the present and adopt an appropriate philosophy of change in order to avoid fossilization. (Author/WD)

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ON THE PSYCHOLOGY OF DECLINING ENROLMENT: WITH A BRIEF REVIEW OF ATTEMPTS TO CUSHION THE NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF PROFESSIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT

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JANICE S. HUNT

MAY, 1978

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On the Psychology of Declining Enrolment: With a Brief Review of Attempts to Cushion the Negative Effects of Professional Unemployment

David E. Hunt and Janice S. Hunt

In this paper, we discuss the psychological effects of unemployment by reviewing some of what has been written about unemployment during the last 50 years. Our search of the literature was not confined to psychology alone, instead relevant material from fiction, oral history, sociology, economics, etc. has been incorporated where it seemed appropriate. We consider the question of professional unemployment by placing it in perspective against a background of dramatic increases in personal expectations--in North America, in 1978, people want a lot from life.

Expectations Have Escalated Since the Depression

The high level of personal expectations is caricatured in the perennial television cartoon, A Charlie Brown Christmas, when Sally concludes her letter to Santa Claus with the words, "Send tens and twenties... all I want is what's coming to me...all I want is my fair share." Observers have remarked that, in the 1970's, many people are demanding their "fair share" without linking their demands either to their own activities and efforts, or to effects on others. These sometimes unrealistically high expectations reflect the extreme self-centeredness which has been described

as the "New Narcissism"--Tom Wolfe calls the young adults of this decade, the "Me" generation. One can't be sanguine about how people who expect so much will react to unemployment.

Unfortunately, when we talk about unreasonable expectations, it is always about someone else's unreasonable expectations, not our own. We're middle class people writing a report that will be read by other middle class people. We all enjoy our standard of living, and don't want to see it substantially lowered; and, when we think about it, we understand that no one else wants his living standard reduced, either. More people expect more out of life than they did at the time of the Depression--high expectations are not exclusive to the affluent. The increased expectations of a majority of our population are partly the result of the increasing democratization in this country and the United States during the post-World War II years. Some economists say we are in the "tertiary" producing stage: "It is the stage where, with growing material progress, new demands for goods or services become evident, or rather where the demand for 'the good things of life', hitherto largely reserved for the wealthy few, becomes more general." (Kotschnig, 1937,p.305). Our problem is that inflation and unemployment have checked material progress at a time when people are demanding more from the economy. Given these circumstances, a continued escalation of personal expectations would be unrealistic, maladaptive, and damaging.

Veterans' Benefits Dramatically Changed the Lives of Many

To trace the recent history of the democratization of society and the consequent rise in the level of personal expectations, we have to go back to 1945 and the end of World War II. People had endured the Depression and the War. The end of those terrible times released a torrent of energy

and optimism which swept survivors towards a boundless future. Veterans were awarded cash grants or low-cost loans to help them buy farms, homes, and small businesses. In the United States, millions of veterans took advantage of the education offered them under the G.I. Bill. In Canada, 50,000 men and 2,600 women were helped to attend university by the Department of Veteran's Affairs. Thousands of others received vocational training to upgrade their work skills. In both countries, men and women, who would never otherwise have had the opportunity for further education, returned to school, many obtaining professional degrees.

Thus, after World War II, opportunities for upward mobility increased enormously. The opportunities were real and the aspirations and expectations based on them seemed reasonable. The veterans' dreams for the future infected others in an Age of Optimism. The "baby boom" began, the number of mortages increased, and charge accounts were opened, while a future full of expanding economic opportunity beckoned. Without tracing the history of these hopes and of the economic realities that have obtained over the last thirty years, we can simply note that infinite expansion in a finite world is impossible-during the past decade, the rate of economic growth has decreased while personal expectations have continued to increase. At least part of the present incongruence between the level of personal expectations and economic fact can be attributed to the media.

TV has Contributed to Rising Expectations

Television is taken so much for granted that, notwithstanding the recent Royal Commission on Violence and the Media, its profound and often insidious effects go largely unnoticed. A recent front-page story in the Toronto Star described a boy who had been mauled by a bear as having

his eyes so swollen that he could not watch TV (as in "his lungs were crushed so that he could not breathe"). It would require the detachment of some 21st century historian/anthropologist to appraise the effect of TV on Western culture in the latter half of the twentieth century (and it is not only Western culture - Samoan natives now have the dubious opportunity of watching 18 hours of taped TV daily), but perhaps we can try.

Imagine that this 21st century historian is trying to understand our society only on the basis of several TV commercials which have been unearthed. What might be concluded about our image of human nature, our aspirations, our sense of community? First, he would note the emphasis on immediate gratification with no relation to personal effort or initiation, e.g., "Fly now...pay later", "You deserve it...go ahead, splurge", "Why not?". The historian might also notice that TV commercials often emphasize personal inadequacies rather than depicting the support people can provide for one another--there is a total absence of any sense of community. Small wonder that we have some self-centered children. TV commercials are fantasies but, after a child has watched thousands or tens of thousands of commercials, he may believe they represent reality.

Then, our historian of the future might consider the tacit assumptions about human nature on which the philosophy of the TV commercial is based. Observing that the commercials were designed to attract attention immediately, to repeat a simple message while the viewer's attention is riveted, and to attempt to induce a purchasing response, he would conclude that 20th century man was characterized by a short attention span, an unsophisticated mind, and a materialistic orientation.

TV programs, as well as commercials, promote unrealistically high expectations dissociated from personal action. Few programs show realistically housed people, and clothing and make-up are equally unreal. Many heroes are loners who would consider it wrong to depend on another person, even for affection. One program, Fantasy Island, has, as its lead character, a man who can give people anything they dream about.

Other media influence our expectations, but TV is the most pervasive of them all. The contrast between peoples' experiences in the Depression and in the post-war era is explained in a passage from Hard Times, Studs Terkel's book about the Depression. A psychiatrist says:

> "In those days everybody accepted his role, responsibility for his own fate. Everybody, more or less, blamed himself for his delinquency or lack of talent or bad luck...you took it and kept quiet. Today the affluent society has made itself known to people...how the better half lives. It's put on television, you can see it. Everybody says "Why not me?" (1970, p.102).

Wendell Johnson, one of the founders of the general semantics movement, described (1946) what he called the IFD sequence or Idealization → Frustration → Demoralization as a course of much unhappiness in Western cultures. It begins with unrealistically high expectations.

Economic Problems Affect People's Feelings of Personal Control

In the quotation above, the psychiatrist stated that during the depression, "everybody accepted...responsibility for his own fate".

Psychologists and sociologists have focused on whether individuals accept the responsibility for what happens to them. People vary in their general feelings of personal control, and these feelings also vary with different situations. Since it seems likely that one psychological consequence of declining enrolment will be the teachers' experiencing a loss of personal control or helplessness, this work will be briefly reviewed.

Feelings of personal control have been investigated under a variety of labels--anomia, internal control, personal causation, etc., but the central psychological process is similar. Paraphrasing Merton (1964) anomia has been described as:

> "...a constellation of attitudes that includes pessimism, despair, and a pervasive sense of individual helplessness, it is viewed as a product of social crisis" (Wolfe, 1972, p.233).

An externally controlled person (Rotter, 1966; Lefcourt, 1976) feels that what happens to him is beyond his control, being due to chance, luck, external circumstances, etc. By contrast, internal control describes the experience of personal control over what happens. Both anomia and internal-external control are measured by short paper and pencil tests. Internal-external control has been the most intensively investigated personal characteristic to be studied during the past few years with over 2000 studies reported.

Another related psychological variable is personal causation (deCharms, 1968; 1976) which is defined as:

> "the initiation by an individual of behavior intended to produce a change in his environment" (deCharms, 1968, p.6).

deCharms refers to people who initiate as intrinsically motivated, or as origins rather than pawns. He has conducted intensive training work (1974, 1976) which has shown that the feelings of personal causation (origins) of teachers can be increased; and that teachers, in turn, can increase the feelings of personal causation (and the academic achievement) of their students.

Anomia and internal-external control have been used to index the effects of economic threat and life crisis situations. The following studies have demonstrated that threat and crisis increase anomia and decrease internal control.

A study of Wolfe's (1972) is interesting for two reasons. First he found that the measure of anomia was related to external control ($r = .49, .48$, and $.42$ in three samples). Second, he used both measures to index the effect of the announced closing of a federal neuropsychiatric hospital on hospital employees and residents of the small community in which the hospital was located. Both employees and residents expressed more helplessness (as indicated by higher anomia scores) than persons in a nearby control community. When externality was considered, employees were higher than control, but residents showed no difference.

In a similar, but more complex, study Reimanis (1967) investigated the effect of an announced hospital closing on anomia but, in this case,

the announcement was later rescinded which made it possible to appraise the effects when the economic threat was removed. Results were dramatic: average anomia score of hospital employees first increased from 7.75 to 9.04 after the closing order, and then decreased to 7.36 when the order was rescinded. The increase in anomia was temporary and reversible.

In a third study, Smith (1970) investigated, first, whether patients in a life crisis would express more feelings of helplessness (as indicated by more external control) than comparable non-crisis persons; and, second, whether the patients in crisis would become more internal, i.e., more in control of their lives, after six weeks of treatment. Both of these predictions were supported.

It should be noted that the tremendous emphasis in psychological research on the personal control of the individual may represent an excessive emphasis which mirrors current cultural values (Sampson, 1977). That is, in complex cultural settings, a person cannot control and be entirely responsible for everything that happens--feelings of personal control should be adapted to specific circumstances.

The effect of declining enrolment on many teachers will probably be an increased feeling of helplessness and loss of control, within the context of high cultural expectations. We should emphasize that this experience of Idealization —> Frustration —> Demoralization (or high expectations combined with feelings of helplessness) is not limited to teachers, the IFD sequence is experienced by a large proportion of persons in Canadian society.

Stress

When they think about declining enrolment, teachers worry about losing their jobs. This kind of worry is stressful and likely to retard

the efficiency of even those teachers who retain their jobs. When the stressful impact of various events was scaled (Holmes and Rahe, 1967) on a 100-point scale (the death of a spouse was rated 100), "loss of job" was accorded a stress score of 47, and was ranked eighth of the 43 events, below "a jail term" and above "retirement". Because only actual events were scaled, no numerical value was assigned to "the fear of losing one's job," but it's probably safe to conclude that such a fear is extremely unsettling. Incidentally, any change in a job was also stressful, i.e., "change to a different line of work" = 36, "change in work responsibilities" = 29, and "change in work hours or conditions" = 20. The precision of these scores is much less important than the general idea that change is stressful. We think people react negatively to any tampering with their work because "There are theoretical reasons to believe that occupation is closely interwoven with identity at least for males in Western society" (Thomas, 1975). That is, a person's psychological well-being is closely related to his work.

In March, the Toronto Board of Education held a lottery to determine the seniority rankings of over 500 elementary school teachers who had been hired since 1975. Approximately 130 of these teachers will be terminated at the end of the 1978 school year, and another 130 or so will be let go after next year. When the draw was over, a Toronto Star reporter interviewed two of the teachers (The Toronto Star, March 14, 1978). Ellen Smith, whose name was the 352nd drawn, was assured of work for a while. She said, "It's been such a strain, waiting to find out. To get some feeling of security, for at least a year or two, is such a relief I'm stunned. It's a hard thing to face, to realize I may have made the wrong choice".

Linda Rist's number was lower and she will probably lose her job next year. Linda commented, "It's an incredible feeling, I couldn't believe it when they told me....it's one thing to be unemployed, another to know that you're going to be."

Although a lottery is a fair method of deciding who will be fired when people have to be fired, the teachers whose futures are determined by a game of chance will lose some confidence in their ability to control their own lives whether they "win" or not. For example, McArthur (1970) administered the Internal-External Scale to a group of Yale undergraduates the day after the draft lottery. By comparing the scores of those who were not affected by the lottery with the scores of those who were affected by the lottery (regardless of outcome), she discovered that those students who were affected by the lottery had significantly less faith in their capacity to order their own lives.

In order to discover "whether the individual directs his response to unemployment inwardly towards himself or outwardly towards some others or the social system," and "to investigate adaptations to professional middle class unemployment," Little (1973) studied 100 unemployed technical-professional workers who were registered at the Route 128 Professional Service Center in Waltham, Massachusetts. He measured stress responses to different aspects of unemployment: length of time unemployed; financial impact of unemployment; career goal blockage--the individual's perception of the discrepancy between his aspirations or ambitions and his actual achievement; and career goal loss--the individual's perception of how much ground he had lost

with respect to reaching specific career goals. Distinctions were made between inwardly directed stress responses--self-blame, psychosomatic symptoms, depression, and irritability, and outwardly directed stress responses--economic system blame, management blame, and the rejection of the political system. He found that the length of time unemployed and the financial impact of unemployment were unrelated to the level of stress responses. In addition, his data indicated that "responses to stress and frustration are most apt to be inwardly directed among those of relatively high status who perceive blockage or loss with respect to their occupationally related goals." In other words, committed people, or people whose egos are strongly identified with their work, may be radicals, but they are unlikely to become revolutionaries when deprived of work. They take out their frustrations on themselves and not on the world. Little also maintains that the middle-class unemployed are generally able to adjust quite well to the financial impact of unemployment because "although jobless, they still retain many of the resources associated with their class positions." We wonder what they are--rich father-in-laws? This finding is a little puzzling, and it's possible that middle class unwillingness to admit to economic difficulties is surfacing here. Not only do some middle class people "put up a good front", but they are also adept at fooling themselves. Little says that many unemployed technical-professionals "define their unemployment as an opportunity." Now, there's positive thinking! Of course, time away from work does provide an opportunity for philosophical reassessment of one's life, but not many people want to be <u>forced</u> to reassess their lives.

Finding a New Job can be Difficult--Both Literally and Psychologically

In a 1963 review of 17 studies of job displacement (Haber et al., 1963, p. 55), the authors complain of the relatively small number of studies available, and "the lack of comparativeness among existing studies". They emphasize the need for inter-disciplinary research on the effects of job displacement, which they defined as "an instance of rapid status change or downward mobility".

We have said that people who have lost their jobs experience stress, and may question their ability to influence what happens to them. Haber and his co-authors point out that the morale and self-esteem of displaced workers may not be restored even after they are reemployed. Re-employed workers tend to like the jobs they have lost better than their present ones. In four studies, reemployed workers were asked how their present jobs compared with their old jobs. The percentage of workers who plumped for their old jobs varied from study to study (40%; 49%; 66%; and 73% were the exact figures): nevertheless, a good proportion of them preferred their former work. They gave reasons for their choices--wages, nature of the work, location of the new job, hours of the new job, etc., but, probably, many were simply disgruntled because their working lives had changed.

Workers do not like new jobs of lower status than their old ones. Ferman studied ex Packard Motor Company workers in Detroit. He found that those who had experienced "job downgrading had lower morale (mental health) scores than workers who were still unemployed and workers who were reemployed at the same or a higher skill level" (Haber et al., 1963, p.51).

In their discussion of his study, the authors suggest that "skidding, a downward job-status change" (p.51), may be more harmful to self-esteem and morale than a brief period of unemployment. All agreed, however, that prolonged unemployment would have disastrous effects on workers' morale.

Displaced workers go through a "recovery" period during which they may change jobs several times. Naturally, most hope to find permanent jobs, but often they are competing with one another at a time when there are too few jobs to go around. The jobs they do find are not protected by seniority: and, if, in desperation, they take unsuitable jobs, they may shortly become dissatisfied and quit. Older workers may have trouble finding any jobs at all, and may settle for temporary work. The outlook for workers displaced during a period of high unemployment is grim: "displaced workers who found jobs experienced lower earnings, work of lower skill, loss of employee benefits, and loss of seniority protection" (Bulletin No. 1408, U.S. Dept. of Labor).

Another study by Ferman was particularly interesting because it had to do with community efforts to find jobs for displaced workers (Haber et al., 1963, pp. 26-34). After the closing of the Detroit Times in 1960, the Newspaper Guild of Detroit worked with the Michigan State Employment Service to find jobs for displaced workers from the editorial and advertising departments of the newspaper. The out-of-work newspaper people received individual and prolonged attention: they were helped to prepare resumés which were then distributed to the business community; ads were placed in newspapers and trade journals; and newspaper editors

from around the country were invited to Detroit to interview workers. Some found jobs, but most did not. Ferman thought that the results of the campaign were disappointing because: (1) the workers lost their jobs suddenly without any warning so the job campaign had to be organized too quickly; (2) in general, out-of-state newspapers offered lower wages; (3) inaccurate reporting of the campaign in the press led people to believe that most of the workers had been hired; and (4) the newspaper workers lost their jobs at a time when unemployment was high in Detroit, and there were few jobs open in the newspaper, advertising, communication, or printing industries.

Haber et al. praise the intentions which prompt organized community efforts to find jobs for displaced workers, and they think that planned publicity campaigns do give psychological support to displaced workers "through community awareness of their problems" (p.26). When community efforts failed, as they did in some of the studies reviewed, they seemed to fail for the following reasons: (1) poor organization; (2) the campaigns were not pursued for a long enough period of time; and (3) few new jobs were available when people lost their jobs and the public did not seem able to sustain interest in a particular group of displaced workers when there was a general unemployment problem.

What can be Done to Cushion the Negative Effects of Professional Unemployment?

CODE has and will receive many detailed suggestions for what to do about declining enrolment, and therefore it is not our intent to make specific suggestions. Rather we first discuss briefly some general issues,

and then describe some examples of earlier attempts to deal with professional unemployment.

The Myth of Problem Solving and the Reality of Community

We begin with a disclaimer and a suggestion for reformulation. When they are considering a "problem" such as declining enrolment, decision makers often turn to scientists and social scientists for the "solution". The disclaimer is that science and social science cannot "solve the problems" confronting society. As Sarason has pointed out (1978), the major social issues such as pollution, the depletion of natural resources, declining enrolment, etc., are not "solvable" in the scientific sense of a single solution, nor have social scientists often studied complex social issues. Our proposal for reformulation is to stop thinking of declining enrolment as a "problem" to be "solved", and to reconsider it as a current reality to be viewed both in historical perspective and in relation to other aspects of contemporary society. This is not to evade the issue, but to face it directly: there is no one solution to any social issue. In addition to suggesting a historical perspective, Sarason (1978) believes that such issues can be most usefully approached by establishing networks of human resources in the ways discussed below.

When Sarason consulted with CODE in January, his major recommendation was that declining enrolment be considered by groups comprised of diverse members of the community (actually, many such groups) who would address the spectrum of issues related to the decreasing birth rate: the increase in the proportion of older people; the pensions which will be paid for by a shrinking work force; the changes in the products and

services required by society; and declining enrolment in the schools. He recommended that, where possible, teachers, school administrators, and parents become linked into a community network of human resources (Sarason et al., 1977). Such networks would: (1) extend the current function and available resources of schools and teachers; (2) place teachers in a "giving and getting" relationship to other members of the community; and, perhaps most important, (3) establish a sense of community in which issues are confronted collectively rather than individually. By implication, some of those who presented briefs to Dr. Jackson during the six weeks of public hearings might profit by meeting together.

We have discussed the individual's feelings of control or responsibility. It may be that current societal values such as independence, autonomy, and self-responsibility are so extreme that they blind us to the equal importance of co-operation, interdependence, and communion. This balance has been discussed by: MacMurray in The self as agent (1957) and Persons in relation (1960); Bakan (1966), when he urges a balance between agency and communion; and, most recently, Sampson (1977), who emphasizes interdependence. Networks provide a vehicle for such a balance in that participating persons come to see themselves both as providing human resources (agency, personal energy) and as requiring resources (through the interdependence of "giving and getting").

Establishing human resource networks is an approach which, when applied to the issue of declining enrolment, will be useful over the long-term. It ought not to be thought of as an immediate answer to specific problems; but the formation of networks, in order to use personal

energy and human resources efficiently, may help people to adjust their expectations to realistic levels. At times of war and grave economic crisis, people seem to draw together into interdependent communities; in ordinary times, it's more difficult to persuade people to help one another. Probably the most reasonable procedure would be to begin with small networks and small groups of community members working in concert on the common issue.

What was Done in the Past to Easc Professional Unemployment?

The emergency public employment projects supported by the United States Government during the Depression are well-documented. In particular, the Work Projects Administration supported: the Federal Art Project; the Federal Theatre Project (over 30 million people attended Federal Theatre plays between 1935 and 1939); the Federal Writers' Project, which prepared approximately one thousand publications including 51 excellent state and territorial guides; and the National Youth Administration, which gave part time employment to high school and college students.

> "The WPA pioneered worthwhile improvements in the quality of American life that local taxpayers never would have authorized. Harry Hopkins put professional and white-collar people to work showing what federal aid to education, science, and the arts could do. Unemployed teachers taught unemployed workers. Unemployed artists, actors, and writers were given work in their fields. Some of the WPA projects made permanent contributions in results as well as in the salvage of talent" (Bird, 1966, p.133).

> "The National Youth Administration aimed to help the millions of young Americans who found it even harder than other groups to find work. 'The young are rotting without jobs and there are no jobs,' commented a Hopkins aide. Young men and women who had 'grown up against a shut door,' they not infrequently felt they had been born into a society where no one either valued them or cared about them" (Lindly, 1938, p.129).

Despite pay cuts, teaching jobs were valued during the Depression. People, who in better times might have chosen other work, became teachers. Many women were forced out of teaching in order to make way for married men. Thousands of these women found jobs with the WPA in adult education, social work, and library science.

> "Unskilled workers were the first to bear the full effects of the Depression, but professional women weren't far behind. 'I was one who found myself caught with family responsibilities,' wrote a teacher in 1936. 'Though I possessed unquestionable credentials, I was unable to get into the public school system which was glutted with applications. I was finally given an adult education WPA appointment which helped me preserve my morale and self-respect'" (Westin, 1976, p.1).

During former periods of high unemployment, most countries in the West introduced some or all of the following measures: restrictions upon foreign labor in order to protect the jobs of citizens; discrimination

against women, both by the passage of restrictive labor laws and the enforcement of societal pressures; the lowering of the mandatory retirement age; and the protection of titles by professional organizations which regulate the entrance to professions such as medicine, architecture, and the law.

In his book, Unemployment in the Learned Professions, which was published in 1937, Kotschnig wrote: "Country after country, faced with the demands of university graduates who have never been able to find work and who feel thwarted in all their hopes, resorts to measures which are inadequate, to say the least, and which at their best can only bring a temporary alleviation" (introduction). By the final years of the Depression, most of the professions, in the European countries, in the United States, and in India, were overcrowded, none more so than teaching. For example, 15% of Czechoslovakia's qualified teachers had been waiting for over six years for a position; in France, each year, less than half of the students awarded licences to teach found work; and in Holland, there were jobs for a scant third of the teaching graduates. In the European countries, as in the United States and Canada, some relief was provided by the inauguration of public works projects. Before the Nazis seized power, the German Work Camps corresponded to the American Civilian Conservation Corps: in both countries, it was intended that college graduates would serve as camp leaders or educational advisers. Austria and Finland provided unemployed graduates with work in libraries, in government statistics offices, and in the record offices of other government departments. In France, relief work for intellectuals was supported by the sale of a special postage stamp--the profits were used to hire

unemployed "brain workers" who then catalogued French art treasures, observed an eclipse in Liberia, and wrote articles on French civilization for foreign magazines. And in Poland and Japan, relief work was created in schools, government offices, and libraries. Governments also hired college graduates to help administer the diver relief organizations spawned by the Depression.

Planners in many countries seem to have used ingenuity and imagination to try to provide suitable work.

> "Many of the efforts to provide work in keeping with the qualifications of the unemployed intellectuals are truly constructive. It makes little difference in this respect whether the jobs are part of a general scheme for counteracting economic depressions or of a special scheme to employ intellectual workers. The main advantage is that the relief worker is able to maintain and to develop his skill while putting his learning and education at the service of the community. He is thus enabled to uphold his morale and to keep fit for permanent employment if and when it becomes available" (Kotschnig, 1937, p.222).

In addition to providing work relief, governments have supported schemes for the retraining and/or the further education of unemployed university graduates. In the 1930's, probationer programs were organized in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria in order to give recent graduates

practical experience in industry and government as well as to provide them with a small salary. Most of the available government positions seem to have been similar to the social science and government internships available to students today. Graduates also worked in science laboratories, in engineering and architectural firms, and in the schools. Essentially, the probationer system prolonged the preparatory period in a number of careers--graduates improved their skills by working with experienced professionals. The danger was that poorly paid probationers were sometimes hired in preference to regular workers who would have demanded a full salary.

"When the overcrowding of a profession obliges unemployed members of it to look elsewhere, either in a less crowded profession, or a less crowded section of their own profession, a period of retraining and occupational adjustment is sometimes necessary" (p.265). In the United States, several Depression relief agencies sponsored retraining programs which were open to unemployed professionals. In Europe, retraining institutes evolved in Germany, France, Great Britain, Poland, and Switzerland. Numbers of professional workers were retrained successfully: i.e., in America, thousands of unemployed women teachers went back to school to become social workers. However, some college graduates may equate retraining with the loss of job or social status. Also, a professional worker who agrees to undergo retraining may have involuntarily abandoned a chosen career; whenever feasible, a worker ought to be retrained for a different branch of his chosen profession rather than for an entirely new profession.

Private industry and governments have also tried plans whereby the volume of work per person is reduced and the number of jobs increased.

They include job sharing; the reduction of the number of days or the number of hours which constitute a work week; and part-time work. Such plans are acceptable to professional workers as long as at least partial fringe benefits are provided.

California, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, and Maryland have started programs which will increase the number of part-time workers in government jobs (Alter, 1978, p.152). And the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development has operated a part-time professionals program since 1968. In addition, there are opportunities for part-time employment in private industry. For example, "New York's Equitable Life Assurance Society permits employees to switch from full to part-time work after five years with full benefits" (p.152).

Why do Students Choose Overcrowded Professions?

> "In a society which passes through rapid change, education is only too often at least two steps removed from the realities of life for which it prepares...schools are needed to serve not present day society but the society which will exist when the children are ready to do their share of the world's work" (Kotschnig, 1937, p.287).

Career counselling ought to be one of the primary functions of the secondary schools and the universities. An effective counsellor helps a student (1) discover his own capacity and aptitudes, and (2) make an intelligent career choice based on knowledge of the work which is likely to be available to him. The counsellor himself must be well-informed about the world of work.

But students, who have been warned that a field like teaching is overcrowded, may still choose to prepare themselves for it. Why? First, some may think they have a "calling". Next, others believe that, even in an overcrowded field, exceptional merit is still rewarded generously. (Did those students, who, in the 1970's, chose to enter teaching, know that the road to tenure and advancement in the profession is determined by seniority and, only to a limited extent, by merit?) Finally, people are young and immature when they choose their educational and occupational goals, and the goals chosen are often unrealistic. The last evidence of maturity is the awareness of one's limitations--one's vulnerabilities. An immature person can view others' misfortunes with calm because, secretly, he considers himself invulnerable--"It can't happen to me", "There'll be a job for me".

What Happens When Educated People Can't Find Suitable Work?

Individual reactions to unemployment differ according to whether a person blames himself or blames society, or how he apportions the blame between the two. His reactions also depend on the kind of prospects he has for reemployment.

The school system suffers from the impaired morale of its teachers. At the worst, the system could deteriorate as described in an article about the Canadian Post Office.

> "In a declining industry, too, there's often bad morale among workers and management; feelings of hopelessness and bitterness causing theft, vandalism, and a don't-give-a-damn attitude; the rise of radicals to positions

> of power in unions; lack of productive communication among all groups.
>
> This, in fact, is how the post office is seen by most Canadians. Management and union people concede implicitly that it's true, at least in part. They blame the other guy--which also is typical of a declining industry" (The Toronto Star, December 27, 1977).

Society suffers, too. Disappointed people are cranky voters. Unemployment and consequent loss of status politicize people. Disillusionment "about higher education as an avenue to success... the devaluation of intellectual work, of the mind itself" prepares the way for extreme political movements (Kotschnig, 1937, p.283).

> "The world gets caught in a vicious circle: the very intensity of the belief in higher education leads to an over-supply of graduates and ensuing unemployment, followed by disillusionment and the discrediting of intellectual training and effort" (p.286).

Conclusion

In 1973, a Panel on Alternate Approaches to Graduate Education, appointed by the Council of Graduate Schools and the Graduate Record Examinations Board, studied the declining enrolment in American graduate schools. After noting a tendency on the part of graduate schools to fossilization, or what they called "endorsing yesterday", they concluded:

> "Several motives currently gathering force seem bound to intensify popular interest in the life of learning--and in the university--provided that the university can teach itself to be responsive to this interest" (p.19).

Unless the schools and teachers can teach themselves to be responsive and, in so doing, invoke reciprocal responsiveness in the rest of the community, fossilization seems inevitable.

We conclude this section with a final quotation from the 1973 report on graduate studies:

> "Three requirements for meeting the obligations, new and old, are the following: 1)awareness among academic men and women of fundamental directions of current society; 2)readiness among faculties and administrations to criticize their own self-conceptions in light of historical shifts in the place of the learned professions in the general life; and 3)an appropriate philosophy of change, alert to human hope as well as to human needs" (p.25).

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